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 FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO
 TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5169
 RUEHTV/AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE 8796
 RUQMMT/AMEMBASSY MUSCAT PRIORITY 0448
 INFO RUEHAL/AMCONSUL ALEXANDRIA 1585
 RUEHAM/AMEMBASSY AMMAN 0685
 RUQMBE/AMEMBASSY BEIRUT 0458
 RUEHDM/AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS 8917
 RUEHJM/AMCONSUL JERUSALEM 7804
 RUEHJI/AMEMBASSY JIDDA 3635
 RUQMKM/AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM 6538
 RUQMKW/AMEMBASSY KUWAIT 4913
 RUEHAD/USINT BAGHDAD 3241
 RUEHLD/AMEMBASSY LONDON 7489
 RUFHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 7322
 RUSNAAA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
 RUEHMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 4721
 RUQMBI/AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI 2115
 RUQMAM/AMEMBASSY MANAMA 1335
 RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC
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C O N F I D E N T I A L CAIRO 08835

E.O. 12065: RDS-1 4/12/02 (ATHERTON, ALFRED L.) OR-M
 TAGS: PEPR, EG, IS, XI, XF, UR, MASS
 SUBJECT: (C) IRAN-IRAQ, EGYPT-ISRAEL AND FACILITIES
 - ISSUE FIGURE PROMINENTLY IN CODEL WHITE MEETING
 - WITH MUBARAK

REF: CAIRO 8765 (NOTAL)

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY AND COMMENT: AT HIS APRIL 10 MEETING WITH A
 LARGE CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION HEADED BY REPRESENTATIVE
 RICHARD WHITE OF THE HOUSE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE,
 PRESIDENT MUBARAK EMPHASIZED THAT EGYPT DOES NOT INTEND
 TO CHANGE HER ATTITUDES OR POLICIES ON THE PEACE PROCESS
 AFTER THE ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM SINAI IS COMPLETED ON
 APRIL 25. THIS WAS THE ONLY ASPECT HIGHLIGHTED BY THE
 CAIRO PRESS IN ITS UNUSUALLY EXTENSIVE COVERAGE OF THE
 MEETING ON APRIL 11 (REFTEL). HOWEVER, MUBARAK MADE
 SEVERAL OTHER IMPORTANT POINTS TO THE CODEL. IN PARTICULAR,

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State Dept. review completed

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HE EXPRESSED CONSIDERABLE CONCERN THAT IRAN'S CURRENT UPPER HAND IN THE GULF CONFLICT WOULD MEAN A MILITARY DEFEAT FOR IRAQ. IF THIS HAPPENED, THE WHOLE MIDDLE EAST AREA WOULD BE GRAVELY AFFECTED. CAUTIONING THAT "YOU WILL REGRET IT IF YOU DON'T", MUBARAK TOLD THE CODEL THAT THE U.S. SHOULD HELP IRAQ, EITHER DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY. ON THE FACILITIES QUESTION, MUBARAK REITERATED SADAT'S OFFER TO GRANT THE U.S. FACILITIES TO ASSIST OTHER ARAB OR MUSLIM COUNTRIES, BUT HE ADDED THAT A PERMANENT PRESENCE OR BASE WOULD NOT BE PERMITTED. SIMILARLY, EGYPT WILL SIGN NO AGREEMENT WITH THE U.S. ON THIS QUESTION. NO NEW GROUND WAS BROKEN BY THIS DISCUSSION, ALTHOUGH MUBARAK IN RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS MADE IT CLEAR THE U.S. COULD CHOOSE WHICH FACILITIES IT WISHED TO DEVELOP. OTHER POINTS RAISED BY THE CODEL INCLUDED, INTER ALIA, EGYPT'S RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION, PERCEPTIONS OF LIBYA AND ASPECTS OF THE U.S. MILITARY SUPPLY PROGRAM. END SUMMARY AND COMMENT.

3. PRESIDENT MUBARAK MET ON APRIL 10 WITH A LARGE CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION HEADED BY REPRESENTATIVE RICHARD WHITE (DEM - TEXAS) AND TEN OTHER MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE ARMED SERVICES AND APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEES. OTHER PRINCIPAL MEMBERS OF THE DELEGATION WERE REPRESENTATIVES SPENCE (REP - SOUTH CAROLINA), MOLLOHAN (DEM - WEST VIRGINIA), MONTGOMERY (DEM - MISSISSIPPI), HOLT (REP - MARYLAND), WON PAT (DEM - GUAM), STUMP (DEM - ARIZONA), HUTTO (DEM - FLORIDA), RUDD (REP - ARIZONA), BURGNER (REP - CALIFORNIA) AND ASSISTANT SECRETARIES MOORE AND ROURKE OF THE STATE AND DEFENSE DEPARTMENTS RESPECTIVELY. THE AMBASSADOR, NEA ASST. SECRETARY VELIOTES, AND MFA FIRST UNDERSECRETARY AND LEADING PRESIDENTIAL POLITICAL ADVISOR, OSAMA AL-BAZ, ALSO ATTENDED THE MEETING. DURING AN HOUR-LONG EXCHANGE OF VIEWS, MUBARAK GAVE THE CODEL HIS COMMENTS ON A WIDE RANGE OF FOREIGN AND DEFENSE POLICY MATTERS, INCLUDING IRAN-IRAQ, EGYPTIAN-ISRAELI RELATIONS, AND EGYPTIAN ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE FACILITIES ISSUE AND THE RAPID DEPLOYMENT JOINT TASK FORCE (RDJTF).

4. IRAN-IRAQ. IF THERE WAS ONE SUBJECT ON MUBARAK'S MIND, IT APPEARED TO BE THE IRAN-IRAQ CONFLICT. ASKED BY REP. WHITE IF THERE WAS ANY SPECIAL MESSAGE HE WISHED TO IMPART TO THE CODEL, THE PRESIDENT RESPONDED THAT THE U.S. SHOULD HELP IRAQ EITHER DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY. "YOU WILL REGRET IT IF YOU DON'T" HE STATED. IN RESPONSE TO AN EARLIER QUESTION FROM REP. WON PAT, MUBARAK DECLARED THAT THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR SHOULD END. AT PRESENT, THE BALANCE IS WITH IRAN, AND IF IRAQ IS DEFEATED, THE WHOLE MIDDLE EASTERN AREA--AND ESPECIALLY SAUDI ARABIA AND THE GULF--WILL BE GRAVELY AFFECTED. NOTING THAT IT WOULD BE BETTER IF THE CONFLICT ENDED WITHOUT A WINNER OR A LOSER, HE COMMENTED THAT THE CONFLICT HAD BRED UNUSUAL ALLIANCES WITH LIBYA, SYRIA

AND ISRAEL AIDING IRAN WHILE EGYPT SOLD AMMUNITION TO IRAQ. REPEATEDLY, MUBARAK EMPHASIZED THAT HE "WAS AFRAID OF THE SEQUENCE OF EVENTS" IF IRAQ IS DEFEATED.

5. EGYPTIAN-ISRAELI RELATIONS. WITH REFERENCE TO EGYPTIAN UN AMBASSADOR EZZAT ABDEL MEGUID'S RECENT REMARKS AT THE NAM CONFERENCE IN KUWAIT, REP. MOLLOHAN ASKED MUBARAK HOW HE PERCEIVES THE LONG-RANGE PROSPECTS FOR PEACE IN THE REGION. MUBARAK ASKED RHETORICALLY: "WHAT NEW WAS MENTIONED IN KUWAIT?" HE SAID THAT ABDEL MEGUID HAD CALLED FOR MUTUAL RECOGNITION BETWEEN THE ISRAELIS AND THE PALESTINIANS. THIS, HE ADDED, WAS NOTHING NEW. REFLECTING THE POINT HIGHLIGHTED BY APRIL 11'S CAIRO PRESS COVERAGE OF THE MEETING (RFFTEL), MUBARAK REITERATED THAT APRIL 25 IN ITSELF HAS NO SIGNI-

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FICANCE FOR EGYPTIAN POLICY; EGYPT IS NOT CONSIDERING A CHANGE IN ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE PEACE PROCESS. HE NOTED THAT EGYPT'S RELATIONS WITH ARAB STATES "WILL NEVER BE MADE AT THE EXPENSE OF OUR RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL". IN RESPONSE TO AN INQUIRY FROM REP. HOLT, HE STATED THAT THE SAUDIS HAD NEVER OFFERED EGYPT A FINANCIAL INDUCEMENT TO CHANGE ITS ATTITUDE TOWARDS ISRAEL, AND IF THEY DID, EGYPT WOULD NOT ACCEPT IT. MUBARAK SAID HE HAD RECENTLY DISPATCHED OSAMA AL-BAZ TO SEE PRIMIN BEGIN AND TO ASK HIM TO JOIN EGYPT IN ARRANGING MEDIA STATEMENTS WHICH WOULD DEMONSTRATE GOOD NEIGHBORLINESS AND FACILITATE GOOD RELATIONS. BEGIN HAD AGREED, BUT SUBSEQUENTLY THE ISRAELIS HAD EXACERBATED RELATIONS BY RAISING THE QUESTION OF THE SINAI FRONTIER AND OTHER ISSUES.

6. THE FACILITIES ISSUE. NOTING THAT SOME IN THE U.S. FEEL CAIRO WEST OR FACILITIES NEAR ALEXANDRIA MIGHT BE PREFERABLE TO FACILITIES AT RAS BANAS, REP HUTTO ASKED MUBARAK IF HE COULD BE MORE SPECIFIC IN DESCRIBING WHAT THE EGYPTIANS WERE OFFERING. MUBARAK EMPHASIZED THAT EGYPT HAS NOT CHANGED ITS POSITION: IT REMAINS READY TO OFFER THE U.S. FACILITIES ANYWHERE. HE SAID THERE COULD BE NO PERMANENT PRESENCE -- THIS WOULD ATTRACT THE SOVIETS TO THE AREA -- BUT THERE WAS NO PROBLEM IF THE U.S. WISHED TO USE RAS BANAS, AN SHAS, CAIRO WEST OR ALEXANDRIA FOR LIMITED PERIODS. IN RESPONSE TO AN EARLIER QUESTION FROM REP. WHITE ON WHAT QUALIFICATIONS OR LIMITATIONS WERE RELATED TO THE USE OF EGYPTIAN FACILITIES, MUBARAK SAID THESE WERE THE SAME AS THOSE SPELLED OUT BY THE LATE PRESIDENT SADAT. THEY WOULD BE USED TO ASSIST ANY THREATENED ARAB OR MUSLIM COUNTRY, BUT THERE WOULD BE NO WRITTEN AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE U.S. AND EGYPT. IF PROBLEMS ARISE ON ANY ISSUE, THEN THE U.S. AND EGYPT CAN DISCUSS THE MATTER.

7. RDJTF. ON THE RELATED ISSUE OF THE RDJTF, REP. WHITE ASKED MUBARAK IF HE COULD FORESEE THE KINDS OF CIRCUMSTANCES IN WHICH THIS FORCE MIGHT BE USED. EMPHASIZING HE WANTED TO BE FRANK, MUBARAK SAID HE DOES NOT BELIEVE THE RDJTF WILL BE ABLE TO PROVIDE ANY RAPID ASSISTANCE. THE MOST LIKELY THREAT TO MOST COUNTRIES IN THE REGION--INCLUDING SAUDI ARABIA, QATAR AND BAHRAIN--WILL PROBABLY DEVELOP INTERNALLY. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, IT WOULD BE HARD FOR THE U.S. TO INTERVENE WITH THE RDJTF, EVEN IF IT WANTED TO. ACCORDINGLY, MUBARAK SUGGESTED IT WOULD BE PREFERABLE FOR THE U.S. TO HELP ITS FRIENDS TO BECOME STRONG ENOUGH TO DEFEND THEMSELVES AGAINST ANY INTERNAL THREATS.

8. EGYPTIAN-SOVIET RELATIONS. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS BY REP. HOLT AND OTHERS, MUBARAK COMMENTED ON EGYPT'S CURRENT RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION. HE NOTED THAT THERE WAS SPECULATION IN SOME QUARTERS THAT EGYPT WOULD TURN BACK TOWARD THE SOVIETS, BUT HE ASKED: "HOW CAN ANYONE IMAGINE THIS TAKING PLACE?" HE SAID THAT THE U.S. IS EGYPT'S FULL PARTNER NOW, HELPING HER TO GET HER LAND

BACK AND PROVIDING ECONOMIC AND MILITARY ASSISTANCE. HE SAID A SOVIET AMBASSADOR MAY RETURN TO CAIRO, BUT NOT NOW. HE EXPLAINED THAT THE 60-PLUS SOVIET ECONOMIC EXPERTS WHO ARE RETURNING TO EGYPT ARE DOING SO IN FULFILLMENT OF CERTAIN WARRANTY PROVISIONS, CONTAINED IN EARLIER SOVIET-EGYPTIAN AGREEMENTS. THE LONGEST-TENURED ADVISOR WOULD BE IN EGYPT FOR SEVEN MONTHS, AND ALL WOULD BE GONE BY THE END OF THE YEAR.

9. LIBYA. REP. SPENCE RECALLED THAT DURING CODEL PRICE'S JANUARY 1981 VISIT, PRESIDENT SADAT HAD EVINCED STRONG CONCERN ABOUT LIBYA AND ESPECIALLY THE THREAT IT

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POSED TO SUDAN. HE ASKED IF MUBARAK SHARED THE SAME CONCERN A YEAR LATER. THE PRESIDENT REVIEWED EGYPT'S RECENT RELATIONS WITH LIBYA. HE CALLED LIBYA--BY VIRTUE OF ITS STRONG SOVIET BACKING--A THREAT TO THE U.S. AND NOT JUST TO EGYPT. HE CHARACTERIZED QADHAFI AS "TRICKY" AND AS AN OPPORTUNIST, CONFIDING THAT ONLY A FEW DAYS EARLIER HE HAD RECEIVED A MESSAGE FROM THE LIBYAN LEADER THROUGH A THIRD PARTY OFFERING EGYPT AID. MUBARAK SAID HE RESPONDED WITH A "THANKS BUT NO THANKS". CONTINUING, MUBARAK SAID QADHAFI IS STILL STIRRING UP TROUBLE IN THE SUDAN, SOMALIA AND CHAD. IF HE SUCCEEDS, THERE IS A STRONG LIKELIHOOD COMMUNIST REGIMES WILL BE ESTABLISHED OR AT LEAST GOVERNMENTS VERY SYMPATHETIC TO THE SOVIET UNION. IN PARTICULAR, EGYPT IS CONCERNED AT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE SUDAN. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION FROM REP. STUMP HE SAID ANY ATTACK ON SUDAN WILL BE REGARDED AS AN ATTACK ON EGYPT, GIVEN THE CRUCIAL IMPORTANCE OF THE NILE TO EGYPT'S SURVIVAL. HE EMPHASIZED THAT SUCH A DEVELOPMENT WOULD AFFECT U.S. INTERESTS AND NOT JUST THOSE OF EGYPT.

10. SECURITY ASSISTANCE. TURNING THE DISCUSSION TO U.S.-EGYPTIAN RELATIONS, REP. MONTGOMERY ASKED THE PRESIDENT IF THERE WERE ANY PARTICULAR PROBLEMS OR AREAS OF ASSISTANCE HE WOULD LIKE TO RAISE WITH THE CODEL RELATING TO THE U.S. MILITARY SUPPLY PROGRAM. MUBARAK SAID THE EXPEDITIOUS DELIVERY OF U.S. MILITARY EQUIPMENT ITEMS ALREADY ON ORDER WOULD BE GREATLY APPRECIATED BY HIM AND BY EGYPT'S ARMED FORCES. REGARDING PARTICULAR PROBLEMS, HE SAID HE HAD ONLY ONE TO RAISE--THE COST OF THE I-HAWK MISSILE BATTERIES. HE SAID THE COST OF ONE BATTERY HAD DOUBLED TO US \$80 MILLION. HE SAID HE HAD MENTIONED THIS TO SECDEF WEINBERGER AS HAD MINDEF ABU GHAZALA. HE SAID THIS KIND OF SHARP INCREASE WITHOUT WARNING WILL NOT SIT WELL WITH THE EGYPTIAN ARMED FORCES, AND HE EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE PROBLEM COULD BE RECTIFIED.

11. CODEL DID NOT SEE THIS MESSAGE PRIOR TO ITS DEPARTURE FROM CAIRO.

12. FOR MUSCAT/TEL AVIV: PLEASE PASS TO CODEL WHITE. ATHERTON

END OF MESSAGE

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